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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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COMMANDER DISCUSSES MILITIAS' ROLE, DEVELOPMENT

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 4, 14 Feb 83 pp 6-8

[Article by Miroslav Novak, Chief of Main Staff, People's Militia: "The People's Militias: A Reliable Support of the Party"]

[Text] Every year we recall the February victory of the workers over reaction as one of the most important milestones in the modern revolutionary history of our peoples, and as an inseparable part of the world revolutionary process begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution. At the November 1947 congress of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Klement Gottwald publicly unmasked the plans of the bourgeoisie to paralyze the activity of the government and carry out a reactionary coup d'etat. The party called upon the working class and other workers to guard their revolutionary achievements. Therefore, the provoking of a government crisis in February 1948 did not find the communists unprepared. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia mobilized the working class and its allies for a decisive operation against the reaction.

The party leadership, headed by Klement Gottwald, declared the situation to be a crisis and took several necessary steps. One of them, which led to the strengthening of the internal security of the state, was the creation of the People's Militias as new, revolutionary forces of the power of the working class.

The founding of the People's Militias thus was not part of a prepared and planned communist coup d'etat as the rightist propaganda asserted, but involved their emergence as the shock force of the party and working class in the battle against the schemes and machinations of the bourgeoisie. Together with the action committees of the National Front, they became a unique revolutionary instrument of mass pressure for the purpose of completing the national democratic revolution and beginning the socialist transformation in the country.

The People's Militias arose in February 1948 as the instrument of political power of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. Its existence, revolutionary heritage, discipline and determination had a positive influence on the development of the events of those days. Together with the Committee of National Security they paralyzed the activity of

reactionary elements and made it impossible for the bourgeois forces to combine and act decisively. Their joint appearance had a significant effect on the peaceful course of the events of February. It showed that only the resolve of the working class, the firmness of the leadership and the instruments which they had chosen to defend their interests were effective against the reaction.

The political influence of the People's Militias for a favorable course of the events of February also stemmed from their very origin. The party had managed to create, form and organize part of the working class into its armed units in a relatively short time. This unquestionably strengthened the confidence of the workers in ultimate victory and warned the reaction against attempted coups d'etat. Thus the February began a unique encounter for political power in which revolutionary violence took place alongside maintenance of the legal parliamentary methods of resolving the situation.

The People's Militiaman has become a symbol of the victory of the Communist Party, the working class and the other workers of Czechoslovakia over the forces of reaction. He embodies in a single person the worker who is building socialism by his daily work and is protecting the results of the labor and struggle of the working class with weapon in hand.

At their creation, the militias received the specific task of preventing the reaction from turning the situation back to the circumstances of the pre-Munich bourgeois republic. The party leadership correctly foresaw that the reactionary circles, recalling their losses, would do everything possible to disrupt the building of socialism in our country and would rely on force from abroad for the purpose. Accordingly it was necessary to strengthen the organization of the People's Militia units and stabilize them, to add to their weapons and equipment, to train the commanders and coordinate the goals of the People's Militia with the requirements of socialist construction. Closely associated with this was the need to deepen ideological training, revolutionary discipline and the ability of the militiamen to react directly to social development.

At their inception, the People's Militias took part in many campaigns to assure calm, order and security; this was because the politically vanquished reaction had not given up its hopes of renewing the bourgeois social order. In cooperation with the Committee of National Security, People's Militia units also carried out important actions in eliminating antistate and criminal elements and actions which are known to us today under the names of Helfstyn, Bludev, Slavonin, Babice and the like.

From the very beginning, membership in the People's Militia imposed extremely high demands for training and participation in various preparedness activities. These involved many hours spent outdoor at the expense of family life and personal comfort. But no one indulged the militia members at the workplaces: it was unthinkable that they should work less or less well than others. On the contrary, it was a foregone conclusion that they would also set an example in work.

The People's Militia units played an important political role in strengthening the alliance of the working class with agriculture. By their specific actions they unquestionably helped to found and consolidate the unified agricultural associations, and by their direct defense of agricultural facilities they prevented major damage from being done by the hostile kulaks.

The activity of the militias in the second half of the 1950's was considerably affected by the worsening of the international situation. The capitalist world, led by the United States, oriented itself to an economic and political blockade of the socialist countries. The great danger arose that the cold war might at any time turn into a real war. In this situation, the socialist countries, including our republic, had no other recourse than to take all possible steps to strengthen their own defense capabilities. Therefore the People's Militias were gradually integrated into the national defense system with the primary mission of carrying out tasks associated with the protection and defense of the territory, for which they were well suited in several ways.

Their training focused on continuously raising the combat readiness and preparedness of all militia units. In command training the emphasis was placed on developing the necessary skills in command of units during operations in a complex political, security and military situation, both in peacetime and in the armed preparedness of the state. The special political training of militiamen has promoted a deeper understanding of the defense and security policy of the party and a knowledge of the forms and goals of hostile activity against our socialist republic.

In the party and social crisis at the end of the 1960's, too, the People's Militias demonstrated their political and specialist readiness and their loyalty to the party, the working class and the ideals of socialist and proletarian internationalism. By their resolve and loyalty to Marxist-Leninist traditions and by their public action on the basis of these principles, they became an important obstacle to the schemes of the counterrevolutionary forces.

The process of political consolidation, purification of the party, reinforcement of the class functions of the socialist state and strengthening of international fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries made it possible for the 14th CPCZ Congress to map out the tasks of building a developed socialist society and assuring its defensive capabilities.

In the period since the 14th CPCZ Congress, the People's Militias have achieved major successes. The self-sacrificing work of party functionaries, the staffs and commanders of units, and the army of thousands of People's Militiamen made it possible to solve many problems and create good conditions for the further development of the militias' activity.

Major concern is devoted to People's Militia units at all levels of party building. The militias have encountered a good attitude toward their requirements as well as help and understanding from plant and enterprise management. The heightened concern of party organs and organizations for this specific component of party work has not only had positive results in the development of the militias, but has also led to increased activism and political activity by militia members. Their main contribution is the all-round readiness of the militia units to fulfill the security and defense tasks assigned them.

The building of the militias and their activities have been regulated by a number of decrees of the CPCZ Central Committee which applied the party congress' decree on the conditions for the People's Militias. The adoption of the new Regulations of the People's Militias specified more precisely their position in the party and society and formulated their tasks as the party's political aktiv, its armed element, and a specific component of the country's defense system.

The organizational restructuring of the People's Militias, the institution of rotational internship training of their functionaries, a group of measures in supply of materials and equipment, and the consistent fulfillment of long-term plans in ideological-political training, combat training, specialist training and intensified cooperation with the other components of our defense system have further increased their readiness and consolidated their place in the national defense system.

The attention which the party organization and the local People's Militia staffs have devoted to work with the officers has resulted in a considerable improvement in the quality of the officer corps. Its average age is being lowered, and the ideological-political and military specialty training of the functionaries is being improved in accordance with present-day requirements. Units have been brought up to full strength and the conditions for purposeful improvement of the personnel base of the militias have been created.

In the training period just concluded, the efforts of People's Militia staffs and units were directed toward fulfillment of the main tasks approved by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and elaborated into directives for the activity of the militias in 1981-1982. Top priority was accorded to questions of further deepening and improving the quality of management and organizational work, closer interconnection of the work of People's Militia leadership elements with party organs, increased briefing of party organizations on People's Militia activity, and joint solution of problems and deficiencies which arise.

The local staffs and units of the People's Militia have been made into all-round assistants of the party in explaining and carrying out the tasks mapped out by the 16th CPCZ Congress. Thirty-two percent of People's Militia members perform functions in the committees of basic-level party organizations and 10 percent in higher-level party organs, 8 percent are

deputies, and almost 7 percent are working in various commissions and aktivs of representative organs. In addition, many of them are taking part in the activities of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement], SSM [Union of Socialist Youth], SCSP [Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League], the Svazarm [Union for Cooperation with the Army] and other organizations of the National Front.

The life of most militiamen is closely associated with production plants and their tasks and problems. The labor initiative of militiamen is indicated, among other things, by the fact that more than half of them are working in socialist labor brigades, and many are members of multi-disciplinary efficiency-improving brigades, efficiency-improvers, and inventors. Nearly 27 percent of militiamen have won honors for outstanding labor results. They consider it entirely natural that they should be members of the brigades in industry, agriculture, in "Action Z" and wherever the interest of the whole society requires it. Hundreds of militiamen have given assistance in a variety of rescue operations, and cleanups after accidents in production, floods, fires and the like. In short, the militiamen have been wherever an extraordinary situation required it. They also take disciplined, self-sacrificing action if our national requires it, or if plan fulfillment in industry, agriculture or elsewhere is threatened.

The important anniversary and associated events of the last year were the occasion for the militias to further develop all forms of socialist competition for excellent fulfillment of the tasks of the training period for improvement of their political and specialist proficiency and their discipline, and for increasing their thriftiness and their provision of assistance in carrying out state plan assignments. The stimulus to the broad development of this movement was the call issued by an exemplary People's Militia plant unit from the Antonin Zapotocky Opencut in Orlov for excellent fulfillment of the tasks of the 1981-1982 training period. The people's militias met this call with a favorable response and support.

In 1981, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Svazarm organization, the main staff of the People's Militias signed an agreement with the Svazarm Central Committee for cooperation in achieving higher quality, more effective combat training, military propaganda and the popularization of the armed forces in society. This agreement is gradually being carried out in the local organs of the Svazarm and People's Militias: successfully in some places, still with some problems in others.

In order to deepen their cooperation, in 1981 the main staff of the People's Militias and the CSSR Ministry of the Interior agreed on cooperation between units of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the Security sections of the CSR and SSR Ministries of the Interior, and the Committee on National Security, and the Border Guards and Forces of the Ministry of Interior with People's Militias in assuring public order and state security, political education and party-political work, and technical and material assistance. In this case too, written agreements are gradually being concluded by the local organs and cooperation at the higher levels is beginning to develop.

In accordance with long-term plans, new halls of traditions have been built, the histories of the People's Militia units have been compiled, and large amounts of photographic and other material have been collected for use in educating the younger generation. Preparations have been made to issue representative pictorial publications and other visual aids for the 35th anniversary of the February Revolution and the formation of the People's Militias.

Constant attention is being devoted to the education of newly inducted militiamen. Their importance continues to grow, because the militia units are being replenished primarily with young party members and candidates. We now have in the militia two-thirds of those who were received into the party since 1970. Educating them in the spirit of the progressive revolutionary traditions of the working class and pride in their membership in the militia is the main task of all militia functionaries. Accordingly, the principles of "separate training" of new militiamen have been developed so that they may be more thoroughly acquainted with the conditions under which they will be carrying out their tasks and so that their adaptation into the collective will be more rapid.

As regards combat training and specialist training, the main attention has been focused on increasing their effectiveness and quality, on deepening the commanders' knowledge and skills, and on making training facilities comprehensive and improving them. In accordance with the requirement to achieve higher training effectiveness while adhering to the requirements of conservation in the use of fuels, the proportion of concentrated training has been increased. The results confirm the correctness of this approach, because the participation of militia members in training, the quality of the training, and the readiness of the militia as a whole have been improved.

The culmination of the combat and specialist training during the just-concluded 2-year training period was the final tactical exercise, whose theme was defensive combat. All exercises were characterized by the high degree of morale of the trainees, discipline, excellent participation, and a responsible attitude toward the performance of their assigned tasks by most of the members of the units involved. This was aided by effective political work during the preparations and the exercises themselves. Party functionaries and managers of plants and enterprises also attended most of them. Thus they were able to become convinced first-hand of the good specialist and political readiness of the People's Militia units from their plants.

Based on an evaluation of the activity during the period just concluded, and in keeping with the plan for comprehensive training of the militia, the following main tasks have been mapped out for the 1983-1984 training year. Systematic political education work must be conducted to assure that all militia staffs and units make progress in publicizing, explaining and carrying out the tasks of the 166th CPCZ Congress; the moral and political condition and party discipline of the militia units must be

strengthened; an effective struggle must be waged against the causes of extraordinary occurrences; the activism and initiative of the militiamen must be expanded; and consistent fulfillment of their party, labor and public-political duties as well as the duties stemming from membership in the People's Militias must be assured.

The program for the new 2-year training period also includes the task of improving the quality and effectiveness of ideological education and mass political work among the militia members and improvement of the work of the political groups of local militia staffs and battalions, deputy commanders for political matters and unit propagandists, and for increasing the participation of commanders at all levels in the planning and conduct of this work.

It will be necessary to devote constant attention to the training of young militiamen and to make increasing use of the work of older comrades who have considerable specialist, political and life experience, for ideological-political and mass political work, to deepen the activity of the militias among young people in order to consolidate their attitude toward the requirements of national defense and particularly to increase the militias influence on young workers.

In combat, security and specialist training, the efforts of all commanders and staffs will focus on improving the overall readiness of the People's Militias for fulfillment of their assigned tasks. We must further improve the quality of work with officers, because a considerable degree of replacement among them as a result of the pensioning of long-term militia functionaries requires even more painstaking attention to the selection and training of their replacements. An important role in this work is played by specialized militia courses at the Higher Ground Forces Military School in Vyskov.

It would be impossible to carry out the difficult tasks, particularly in combat training and officer training, without the effective, all-round assistance offered to the People's Militias by the Czechoslovak People's Army and the units of the Ministry of the Interior. This cooperation, focused on assuring the protection and defense of the socialist order, is beneficial to both sides and is making a significant contribution to consolidation of the alliance of the armed forces with the workers.

The 35 years' existence of the People's Militia confirms the correctness of the decision of our party leadership in 1948 to arm the workers so that they would be able to protect socialism against all internal and external enemies. The current party leadership, too, headed by Comrade Gustav Husak, places high value on their activity and devotes due attention to them.

Their conscious, self-sacrificing, disinterested labor for the cause of the working class and socialism is a convincing demonstration that the People's Militias have been, are and will continue to be a reliable support of the party and a loyal guardian of our socialist homeland.

8480

CSO: 2400/217

IMPROVEMENTS IN MOBILIZATION, COMBAT PREPAREDNESS DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 29, 16 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Major General Sandor Evin: "Combat Readiness and Mobilizational Readiness Have Increased"]

[Text] By overcoming the initial difficulties and introducing various measures, we have been able to maintain at the desired level the combat readiness and mobilizational readiness of our formation, despite the changes in the length of service and work schedule. By utilizing more economically and efficiently the possibilities in the preparations for mobilization and in training reserve personnel, we have concentrated main attention on updating the plans, perfecting the mobilization mechanism, and modernizing the duty premises and their technical equipment.

We have suitably trained the troops to handle modern combat materiel. In the course of training, the regular and the reserve personnel gained more thorough knowledge of the combat materiel's deployment, handling and maintenance. Conscripts and reserve troops acquired the necessary skill and experience in handling and operating combat materiel. The held combat-readiness and mobilization exercises have demonstrated that the combat readiness and mobilizational readiness of the conscripts and reservists liable to military service, their attitude to military service, cohesion, and their composition by age and skills are in accord with the requirements.

In 1981 and 1982, we retrained and welded together several thousand reserve officers and reserve troops. In every service this was accompanied by the highest level of maneuvers using live ammunition. The call-up and training of a large number of reservists, and in 1982 a tactical exercise of one of our formations--combined with military alert, mobilization, inspection, and with maneuvers by a motorized infantry unit and a tank unit--proved that our system for the preparation and training of reservists was sound.

In the course of carrying out the tasks, the reserve officers' leadership and the mobilized reserve troops' professional knowledge improved. The proportion of modernly trained personnel within their units is acceptable. To maintain at a high level the combat readiness and mobilizational readiness of the commanders and staffs, we exerted considerable effort to improve the level of their training. Last year we took up several topics that could be regarded as new in comparison with the preceding years. The new topics provided a good opportunity for the commanders and staffs to concentrate their knowledge not

only on the solution of customary, routine tasks. At the same time they contributed toward learning how to plan, command and carry out in practice military operations and combat activity under complex conditions.

Parallel with the achieved results, we also have shortcomings, primarily in training. The command of our formation analyzed these shortcomings and discussed the possibilities for improvement. Implementation of the remedial measures is proceeding on schedule.

In the interest of further progress and to eliminate the uncovered problems, in all sessions we are planning to devote close attention to the elements of command and staff work, to thoroughly learning their content and becoming skilled in them, to practicing them according to the various work schedules, and to preparing the prescribed documents with the required content, through staff work of suitable quality. Depending on their work loads, we will include the professional officers on the mobilization staffs in planning and conducting the programs for the general and specialized tactical training of other units.

We will plan the sessions for commanders so that they will be geared to the coming tasks. In calling up the secured reservists we will take into consideration what skeleton units are available for reservists in the given year. We will coordinate this with the various types and levels of sessions, war games and exercises.

In the future we will select with great circumspection the subjects of the various programs and the methods of conducting them. We will devote great care to planning and organization. Our command believes that the realization of these ideas will enable us to significantly improve the tactical and strategic training of commanders and staffs.

We had to perform our expanded tasks under increasingly difficult economic conditions and higher costs. Despite the unfavorable development of external conditions, by using in a planned manner and more economically than in the past the material and financial resources placed at our disposal, by utilizing more fully the available local resources, and through strict economization, we have been able to ensure the quality of general provisions, and balanced service and living conditions for the personnel. Our barracks, various structures and their surroundings are orderly and properly maintained. The buildings' state of repair is suitable. As a result of prudent management, we saved 3.0 to 3.5 million forints from our 1982 budgetary allotment. Using central and our own resources, last year we enlarged and renovated several depots and ammunition dumps. We modernized the buildings for the troops, the officers' mess, the troops' mess, the kitchens, and guard duty facilities. In the buildings for the troops, we rebuilt 24 plumbing cores. We renovated two garrison cultural centers and completed the planned renovation and modernization of 30 service apartments. From our own resources we developed further the recreational facilities for the troops.

We have strived to contribute also through better working and living conditions toward the highest possible degree of our readiness to meet the requirements stemming from our basic mission.

1014

CSO: 2500/408

AMENDMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE LAW DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 30, 23 Jul 83 p 6

[Article by Colonel Dr Jozsef Somos: "The National Defense Law's Amendment"]

[Text] More than 7 years have elapsed since the promulgation of the National Defense Law, and of its executory instructions that are contained in decrees issued, respectively, by the Council of Ministers and the defense minister. This law and the decrees are kept up to date through their modification. And as we learned from the daily press and MAGYAR KOZLONY, the defense minister's decree with executory instructions to the National Defense Law has been amended the most recently in May of this year.

If within a relatively short time after a statutory regulation's promulgation it becomes necessary to amend it repeatedly, the reader might justifiably ask whether all the circumstances that could have influenced the statutory regulation's amended content were taken into consideration at the time it was drafted originally. In other words, does the statutory regulation have to be amended because its authors were not sufficiently circumspect and lacked foresight when they drafted it?

Well, the drafting of legislation requires extensive special knowledge, vast experience, and cooperation among the implementing, enforcing and other organs. In spite of this, the possibility of error in the course of drafting cannot be excluded. Yet the reasons for amending a statutory regulation, even when this happens soon after promulgation, are usually not mistakes that the drafters or legislators might commit. For in our time changes in the economic environment are especially rapid, and they immediately require modification of the statutory regulations, including expansion of the citizens' rights and obligations. An illustrative example is the wider opportunity to find employment abroad. Well, to remain with this example, so-called mixed marriages between a Hungarian citizen and a foreigner might also become more common as more Hungarians work and study abroad.

Upon the termination of his employment abroad, a Hungarian male liable to conscription must of course report for military service as a conscript. This might create a very difficult situation for the wife who follows her husband home and settles in Hungary. Not knowing the language, she usually is unable to find employment commensurate with her qualifications. Obviously, some provisions must be made for such wives. This led the legislative organs to amend

the statutory regulations governing national defense. Accordingly, a Hungarian conscript's wife who is living in Hungary but is not a Hungarian citizen, or has acquired Hungarian citizenship by marriage, must be regarded as unable to work also in cases when knowledge of Hungarian is an essential requirement for employment commensurate with her qualifications, and she is unable to accept such employment because she does not know Hungarian.

Thus the law is responding properly to a new social phenomenon triggered by the economic conditions when it employs a so-called legal fiction and declares that a person who actually is physically fit must be regarded as unable to work, thereby providing for her support, because by law a family member who is unable to work qualifies for a family allowance.

The statutory regulations on national defense contain the system for managing national defense, the most important regulations that apply to the personnel of the armed forces and corps, the duties of citizens and economic organizations in connection with national defense, and provisions safeguarding the interests of servicemen and their dependents. It is perhaps unnecessary to point out that the type and extent of the rights the regulations attach to the duties often depend on what the state is able to afford.

It is clear to everyone that performance of the citizen's duties must be matched by his rights. For example, if a person undergoing military service has a dependent whom he supported before reporting for military service, by fulfilling his duty he gains the right to expect the state to assume care for the dependent, through some form of assistance. But the extent of this care, and the amount of assistance the state is able to provide to a person whose supporter or provider is performing his military duty to the state, will depend on the specific economic and financial possibilities as well.

One sees also in everyday practice that the state--despite the difficult situations and economic slumps that arise from time to time--is striving to provide ever-broader rights for those who are fulfilling their duty as citizens. This of course can happen only commensurately with what the economy is able to afford. At the time of the latest amendment to the regulations governing national defense it was possible to extend the interest-protecting provisions to include also the students of military schools, for the entire duration of their studies. Among other things, the amendment makes the otherwise qualified dependents of married military-school students eligible for family allowances.

It has also been necessary to amend the regulations so as to provide more effective support for a conscript's children not living in his household. For according to the conditions applicable earlier, a conscript's children were able to quickly and smoothly collect a family allowance only if the conscript had been supporting them in his own household before he reported for military service, or if a court judgment ordering the conscript to pay support to his children became final before he reported for military service.

Even if a conscript did not deny paternity or signed a statement acknowledging paternity, his illegitimate child born after the conscript had reported for military service could qualify for family allowance only if the court issued a decree ordering him to provide support. This procedure, however, proved too lengthy. Until the court issued the decree, the child was not provided for.

To end this detrimental situation, and in view of the fact that the state has increased the amount earmarked for social entitlements, the regulations have been amended. Now if a conscript's obligation to provide support arises after he reports for military service--in other word's, if the child is born after the conscript reports for military service and the conscript signs a valid statement acknowledging the child as his own--the child immediately qualifies for family allowance paid to dependents not living in the conscript's household. This legal solution enables an illegitimate child, upon presentation of a document acknowledging paternity, to collect family allowance instead of child support.

1014

CSO: 2500/409

ROLE OF RELIGION IN 'MANIPULATING MAN'

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Jul 83 p 4

[Roundtable discussion with university lecturer Dr Georgeta Florea, Dr Octavian Chetan, the chief editor of REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE, and Dr Petre Datculescu, a researcher at the Center for Research for the Problems of Young People, by Paul Dobrescu: "Mysticism - An Instrument for Manipulating Man;" date and place not specified]

[Text] To say today that religion is gradually restricting its role in all the fields of social affairs is more and more becoming a common thing. Countries having old Christian traditions in Europe and America are showing an accentuated decline in the moral and social influence of religious beliefs and institutions and a marginalization and diminution of the prestige and authority of religious ideology. As a result of the secularization of the contemporary world, religion is confronted by a serious crisis, one recognized by the representatives of the major Christian religions, which are proposing different interpretations and solutions for getting out of such a situation that is unprecedented in previous times.

Efforts, which are many times surprising in their originality, to adapt the traditional Christian religions to the requirements of a world that is in continuing development and the spread of a true network of religious sects which are carrying out an intense activity to proselytise even more strongly show the social role of religion to manipulate the awareness of man and to cultivate a separate type of political indifference, within which opposition to leftist social-political movements holds a major place. This is especially true of the calls for passivity and submission that are contained in the ideological dogma of the classical religions which are now amplified and spread in various forms that have been raised to the rank of guiding principles in the activities of these sects. Basically, these pursue the separation of the citizen from the real problems of his life and the cultivation of the empty hope that the only salvation is in an imaginery world that could compensate for his disappointments, failures and frustrations in the current world. It should be stressed that some of these sects do not hesitate to use a series of advances in science, especially the humanist ones, so as to be able to increase their poisonous influence upon man or human groups and to manipulate their aspirations. With or without their intention, the mystical beliefs thus contribute to perpetuating the unequal and exploiting structures in the capitalist system, and to spreading the illusion that the organized struggle for social change and renewal

is in vain since, regardless, it would not be able to give man happiness and fulfillment. Preachings that are as aberrant as this are especially spread among the ranks of the young people, dangerously distorting their aspirations for human achievement in the direction of happiness and a clean life, and diverting their attention from the real problems which influence the achievement of these aspirations. The participants in the discussion on this subject are: university lecturer Dr Georgeta Florea, Dr Octavian Chetan, the chief editor of REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE, and Dr Petre Datculescu, a researcher at the Center for Research for the Problems of Young People.

"The Ceremony for Degrading" the Personality

Octavian Chetan: We also find the tendency to manipulate in those efforts that are made for the so-called purpose of updating the traditional religions and of adapting them to the requirements of the modern world. The traditional Christian religions, for example, are working in the direction of maintaining their monopoly over awareness through varied attempts to modernize the form and presentation of their religious message and practices by way of a timid and conciliatory approach to the social and political problems that today are troubling mankind, as well as through a so-called "reconciliation" based on more nuanced faithful positions with the contemporary sciences and the recognition of certain obvious and tragic errors in their attitude up until now with regards to some of the top representatives of scientific knowledge. Many of these modern theologians - especially seen among the ranks of Protestantism and contemporary Catholicism - are promoting an unusual Christian militantism, calling for the transformation of theology into a criticism of social and political praxis and the transformation of the church into a institution of social criticism. Some of their representatives criticize the role of Christianity as an "ideological guarantee" for certain outdated systems and are asking for a more active presence of religious organizations in contemporary political affairs. However, their activism remains on the surface and is profoundly penetrated by its mystical content. As a result, all these theologies of "politics," "hope," "revolution," "secularization," "development," "the future" and so forth, have as their common denominator the eschatological view. They all preach social and political activism with the eye of the soul aimed towards awaiting the imminent "end of the world" and then the divine judgement. This ancient Christian dogma is the most paralyzing doctrine of all of the Christian teachings. It cancels out any real social activism, transforming it instead into its opposition. It is the ideal ideological means for manipulating the awareness of the faithful individual and for maintaining a permanent spiritual tension which separates man from the social and political problems which he faces in his daily existence. From this view, all the individual's current joys and hopes, all the concerns and difficulties that he faces become superfluous, are lacking any importance and are annulled by the permanent concern to carry out the rigors of religious life in order to deserve the reward of an illusionary divine final judgement.

Petre Datculescu: While the phenomenon of manipulation is present in different proportions in all the religions, it becomes the main purpose and the reason for existence of the contemporary sects, which, by various means, seek to totally

control the individual and to transform him into a factor of blind service to the interests of those who lead the sect. To this end, they resort to sophisticated methods to influence the mind, they apply systematic pressures and they use various temptations, including giving moral or material assistance which is not at all free, thus indebting different people and requiring them to become followers of that cult. What this religious proselytizing is pursuing is not the acquisition of a simple follower, but rather the bringing about of a conversion. And, conversion is not a form of reasonable compromise or partial compromise, but a total change of personal identity. It involves a gradual dissolution of the self and a disconnection from everything that a person was before. Numerous sociologists have studied the process through which the initial identity of an individual comes to be transformed so that he more and more renounces autonomous thought in favor of the types imposed by a religious group. They have named this process "the ceremony of degradation" and have pointed out what they mean by this concept. Religious conversion pursues a complete change. Not only must behavior, that is, what a person will do under certain conditions, be changed, but also his motivational reasons, the most profound thoughts and reasons of behavior.

The faithful gladly state about themselves that they are moral people. Why should they not be? The majority of people are moral without being religious. But, the faithful are educated to feel that being religious is the only authentic means of morality. The influences of religious indoctrination create in their minds an artificial and erroneous polarization. Non-religious life is most frequently equated with "anonymity," "a lacking of meaning," "immorality" and "the pursuit of wealth and tasteless enjoyment" while a religious life is presented as a unique chance to escape from the danger of a dehumanized existence. Once created, this dangerous and exclusivist social perception acquires an evaluative stability and, as a means of manipulating awareness, becomes sufficiently resistant to change. When one presents something good where the believer was conditioned to think that it was bad, he will either not see it or reorganization the perception so as to consider it an evil.

Moral Confusion - The Friendly Grounds for Proselytizing

Georgeta Florea: The manipulation phenomenon takes on extremely dangerous forms in the new religious movements (Scientology, also known by the name of the "Church of New Comprehension," the Moon sect or the "Association for the Unification of World Christianity," the "Science of Creative Intelligence," the Children of God, the Mission of the Divine World, Hare Krishna, the New Acropolis, Ecoony, the European Cooperative and so forth).

All these above-mentioned religious groups, which today are alarmingly proliferating in the capitalist countries, have appeared after the second world war as a result of an amplification in the forms of exploitations and a furthering of economic, social, political, national and cultural inequalities and under conditions of an increase in unemployment, an accentuation of underdevelopment, an increase in the danger of war, an escalation of the arms race and a desperate use of drugs, violence and terrorism - all which irreversibly alter the meanings and ideals of human existence. Many social categories in the capitalist countries that have been alienated at the social-political level have been left to be

attracted to the especially dangerous trap of the new sects. On the basis of an ascetic life style or various forms of hedonism, or by way of a mix of both approaches, these sects deceive them into thinking that they can increase their physical and intellectual abilities, protect them from the negative influences of daily life and quickly and with relative ease "save" them "here and now" from the evil of contemporary society.

Petre Datculescu: The data from certain broad investigations show that adherence to a religious institution and ideology can lead to a "passing away" of one's own reason while the isolated mentality tends to irritate from religious beliefs towards different social attitudes and behaviors. It is known that there are religious actions and social actions that are caused by religion. Numerous investigations conducted throughout the world have found a direct relationship between religiosity and authoritarianism, racial and ethnic bias, conformism, individualism, conservatism, contempt for reality and disdain for efforts for self-realization in real life. When a religious doctrine denies the future and turns its back on the temporal world, its apocalyptical views discourage its followers from being actively integrated into society since they are forced to believe that the arrival of the imaginery "savior" is imminent or that true happiness awaits them in a fantastic afterworld.

Octavian Chetan: Sociological researchers are unanimous in finding in this that the apolitical nature and lack of critical feeling among the subjects that have been recruited are the main factors which make easy the proselytizing carried out by these sects and open the door for all the types of manipulation to which these young people fall victim. And, this apolitical nature translates here, actually, as the lack of a social-political ideal, moral confusion, the inability to withstand certain too difficult realities, social demobilization, the denial even of society and the family and the illusionary hope for a "pure" existence free of social evil by living in these sect communities. As Alain Woodrow also noted (in "Les nouvelles sectes"), "the expansion of sects in the affairs of Western capitalist societies is being done on the basis of a reaction to politics and the rise of the right, while the lack of political commitment among numerous young people in these countries has as a consequence a flagrant lack of discrimination in evaluating the different social and political phenomena and ideological confusion. On this social basis, sects of the most diverse orientations and trends are recruiting followers who are subjected to practices known universally as "brainwashing" so that they can be later manipulated at will.

"The False Paths" of the Much Sought After Happiness

Petre Datculescu: What can be done to some young people, even when they have a higher degree of education, to make them blindly believe and to passionately state dreadful things that clearly contradict the conclusions of scientific research? The answer is not hard to find. They have been taught to interpret personal experience and all natural and social events in an exclusively religious context. Because of the religious direction of thinking and knowledge, young people come to ignore, devalue or reinterpret the scientific explanations

that are offered by the secular educational institutions in society, thus cutting off the points which lead to the formation of a personality on the grounds of a scientific concept about the world and life.

The indoctrination has a subtle and insidious nature. Science is not negated, but scientific knowledge is considered secondary in relation to the pretended opportunities of religion. As a result of certain psycho-social research, it was found that the majority of young people who belong to different sects try to establish a certain degree of compatibility between scientific discoveries and the prophecies of the Bible. They do not exclude the progress of science, but they feel that science does not provide arguments hostile to religion. What can be more graphic in describing a "closed mind," one which revolves around its own immutable dogmas?

Georgeta Florea: The increased ability to manipulate people that is seen in the majority of the new religious sects stems also from the fact that their mystical essence is dissembled behind a screen of false "scientific" or "humanist" ideas. This is why many of these sects present themselves as "associations," "scientific groups," "therapeutic groups," "study groups" or even "cooperatives." With the help of such deceptive "groups" they succeed most of the time in hiding, at least at the beginning, the mystical nature of the sects' concerns, as well as the reactionary, antisocial, anti-human and anticultural intentions which they are actually pursuing. For example, Scientology embeds in its followers the idea that through special psychological training - whose lessons are presented at its well-paid-for "courses" - any individual can increase his mental abilities, go beyond his inhibitions, master his "subconscious" and obtain a "clear" status, that is, a considerable increase in the components necessary for daily life.

Many of the new religious movements develop an exacerbated type of fanaticism that is paradoxically founded on an idea that is very attractive and which produces such changes in meaning that it takes on a dangerous antisocial, anti-human and anticultural nature. For example, the Ecoony and European Cooperative sects circulate the slogans about the need to revitalize arid lands, improve agriculture, combat pollution and so forth. Under the banner of such so-called neo-revolutionary ideas, a condemnable process is taking place of manipulating people who are intoxicated by promises about finding an alternative to their current precarious social situation. Entering these religious communities is like entering a monastery. Those who become members of these sects are required to radically and completely break from everything that means life in society, to abandon their family without reservation, to interrupt their studies, to abandon the profession and all their other civil obligations, to reject entirely the moral culture and so forth.

Octavian Chetan: The techniques of "spiritual training" are to a great degree common for the main sects (the Children of God, Krishna Consciousness, the Moon sect and so forth). The strategies that are drawn up by the "staffs" of the different movements follow the current techniques of marketing, keeping in mind the public, the social environment, publicity approaches and so forth. Usually, the first contact takes place on the street. Decent young people propose

to the target youth that they take part in a conference on subjects of current interest, such as: "Does the society in which you live satisfy you? Do you know the origins of good and evil? Are you aware of the people's mistrust in communicating?" or about unemployment, love that should exist between people, about the future of young people in their society and so forth. After the conference, the next step usually is offering a brochure that is attractive in appearance and content and an invitation to a weekend in the countryside, which, actually, is the first deceptive contact with the sect's community, even though the newly arrived people are shown merely the attractive aspects of the collective life of the sect. Other invitations follow until they get the consent to stay permanently within the sect. Such techniques, which facilitate retail trade swindles, become - as A. Woodrow notes - serious on an ideological level to the degree in which a sect or another becomes master over a series of people, promising them personal and collective happiness in exchange for a total alienation, a final break with their origins and their family and a blind submission. A psychiatrist from San Francisco who lived for a time in such a community, playing out the role of a possible victim, later wrote: "What is done to these young people is monstrous. They make them so dependent that they become regressive and return to the personality of a three-year-old child. If tomorrow they were returned to the streets, they would become drug addicts, alcoholics, patients in psychiatric hospitals, suicidal and incapable of ever adapting."

The aggression against the psyche involves sleep deprivation, low-protein food, isolation, feeding fears, psychological cruelty, a permanent control over mental processes, subjection to unending sessions, maintenance of a guilt complex and, in the end, a nearly subconscious transfer of feelings, thoughts and actions.

A Continuing Current Duty: Combatting the Dangerous Effects of Religious Intolerance

Georgeta Florea: It is clear that the appearance of these religious groups is possible in those countries where, in the name of a certain understanding given to democracy, the state permits the operation of any cult without investigating in detail whether or not behind some so-called religious activities the dangerous manipulation of people is taking place and whether or not the rituals endanger the physical and intellectual health of those who have been recruited.

Confronted with the proliferation of such religious movements, public opinion in the capitalist countries have started to become ever more involved in their devastating effects. In various countries, such as France, West Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and so forth, organisms were created (committees against mental manipulation, associations for the protection of the family and the individual, parliamentary commissions for information regarding sects and so forth) for the purpose of unmasking the dangers of the activities of these sects and bringing about the intervention of the police, legal and financial organs and so forth. This was done so as to pursue those who attract young people with false promises, separate them from their families, subject them to brutal exploitation, cause them to abandon their studies and jobs and interrupt the natural course of their lives.

But, many of these interventions come much too late, after numerous persons have become the victims of mysticism or after they can in no way be recovered.

Octavian Chetan: The sects in the contemporary Western world can be compared with the mesh of a net, ready to capture anyone thirsty either for certainty and individual happiness or mystery and the exotic or spiritual health and a "state of higher awareness" or the occult and black magic or purity and brotherly assistance or a "full agreement" between science and religion. Regardless of the name it bears, they are united by the tendency towards unhindered manipulation of an individual's awareness and towards their abstraction from the tumult of a natural social and political life, and the inoculation either with an absolute anticommunism or with a total indifference towards society. The profound anti-humanism of these sects has been denounced numerous times by scientists and politicians and by numerous parents and other relatives of the young people caught in the nets of the countless "spiritual masters" who have acquired fabulous wealth by exploiting the credulity and passivity of their victims. But, most sects continue to carry out their activities unhindered, with the laws of the Western countries continuing to demonstrate an extreme tolerance towards them. Some of the chiefs of these sects are being pursued for fiscal fraud, but none for the inhuman practices that are being used in their communities.

It is a reality which proves that the activities of the sects of diverting the attention of the citizens away from the real problems facing capitalist society, such as unemployment, human alienation and so forth, and of projecting the hopes of those many people into an illusionary afterlife, are convenient to certain ruling circles and are regarded as a means of perpetuating the unequal structures of these societies. Only in this manner can we explain why these sects which are proven to be forms of manipulation, even worse, forms of annihilation of the human personality enjoy their freedom of action, with the capitalist state being satisfied to receive a portion of the incomes made from exploiting the credulity of certain citizens.

Petre Daculescu: The young years are synonymous with the ambitious efforts of construction and self-construction. Religious indoctrination, however, brings about a regrettable step backwards. Instead of progressing towards adult ethics, these young people tenaciously hang onto an infantile morality and their simple black or white prejudices are transposed into the currency of "either religion or nothing." Instead of developing a behavior directed towards reality, they remain anchored in idealist abstractions and illusionary hopes which cloud their awareness. For that reason, the prevention of the degrading effects of proselytizing and religious intolerance and the combatting and elimination of this "hydra of sects" which destroys the personality of some many citizens constitute an especially current duty for progressive circles everywhere and humanity in general.

8724

CSO: 2700/284

INIC'S REPLY TO MUHIC'S CHARGES OF RADICALISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 83 pp 42-44

[Article by Dr Slobodan Inic in reply to Dr Fuad Muhic's article entitled "Some New Kids and the Third Revolution": "The Right to an Opinion"]

[Text] I had almost come to believe that Dr Fuad Muhic had drawn some lessons from his otherwise inglorious habit of discovering more and more new protagonists of "leftwing and rightwing deviations" all over Yugoslavia. As though, I had the impression, he had declared a truce for a time. I had just come to think that he had finally realized that there is an end to everything, even his burlesque, but also hellish, ideological imprisoning of people, when up jumps the devil: here he is again, indeed in his old and well-known edition, in top form. The chronic method of the inquisitor, a handful of ready-made judgments and the look of the prophet, probably of a "know-it-all": "Where does the radicalism of Luka Markovic and Slobodan Inic lead?" It is simply beyond belief. Like a little sketch for the current events of the underground. And done in such haste that this ideological bard of ours came to the conclusion that what was going on with us was a new "left-right" radicalization. In any case, he has an unquestionable sense for drawing the "right" conclusions, indeed from the very outset, as though there were nothing to it. I do not doubt that Dr Luka Markovic will give Muhic as good as he got in view of his most recent discoveries of "ideological meandering" or radicalism. But, if I may, I would take that "little piece" of radicalism which the "100-year-old man" attributed to me in order to look at it a bit more closely.

A Pernicious Method

Dr Muhic takes as his point of departure the thesis hammered out in advance and artificially constructed that radicalism of solutions goes hand in hand with the intensity of crisis situations in a society. I would put it the other way around: it is a question of a growing strength of opinion, of intensified outpouring of reflective sophistication and headaches about what is to come. Why radicalism? Didn't the matter reduce thereby to the narrow space of an intellectual profiling which does not correspond to the truth? Or, what is still worse, to bring thinking under attack? Of course, Muhic ought to strike an agreement with himself as to the content and significance he attributes to the radicalism. Since for him it is everything under the sun and nothing, and to some extent even everything. There is in it both "dissent"

and "opposition," "liberalism" and "nihilism"?! I would therefore put this question to Muhic for future reflection: What is that vantage point for examining society which takes the form of a radical viewpoint? I hope that in his answer he does not once again, in his well-known style, impart content with an exclusively negative connotation. Incidentally, radicalism may even be a form of revolutionary thought. It may also be radicalism to take things by the roots, and man is the root of all things. There is rather a broad space, then, between thought and an ideology which in and of itself is neither radicalism nor anything else as much as an effort to arrive at new intellectual conquests of the existing reality without prejudices. It is, of course, a question of thought, if in general we have any interest in it.

By no means, then, could I agree with Muhic's view that radicalism "begins and ends with the question of what to do with the LCY and how to remove it from the present political system." Incidentally, Muhic takes part in our political thought only with ulterior motives which he then shapes into "isms." That is a pernicious method. Put simply, it results in a breaking of heads. In that respect Muhic has become known far and wide. What does it signify for him to reduce certain current discussions to the reductum: to "remove the LCY from the political system." I cannot otherwise understand this than as a method of frustrating thinking of preventing conversations from taking place at all! After all, in that case few would want to take up any sort of discussion under the threat of that kind of Damocles' sword. Dialogue is also impossible if certain content of thought is given a form with a negative connotation. If such a dialogue even allows it to be imagined, then the general matrix and basic format of thought would be a label on the back and a piece of adhesive tape on the mouth. I believe that Muhic would in fact like something like that. By contrast with Muhic, I would put another question. That is, does our present social situation, which has so far been diagnosed as "problematical," "serious" and "critical," require thought? And in that light do appropriate solutions have to be sought at the level of the sociopolitical system and the role of the League of Communists? In that respect a thought which seeks possible ways out does not deserve Muhic's extraordinary measures or a frivolous ideological catechism which he uses as a good excuse as to why there is no longer any need for serious thought. The fact that opinions can and should be distinguished is another matter. But every one of us looks at the same world, but does not also see the same things. "Thinking alike" has never been, it is not now, nor will it ever be the mental form of politics, much less of science. Muhic seems to be the only one who still believes in that. Which accounts for his discrediting everyone who presents an opinion which does not square with his views as though he conceives himself to be some intellectual authority.

"Public Property"

What right and position is it whereby someone like Dr Muhic can take certain topics into his own preserve, sanctify them and proclaim anyone who does not think like he a liberal and oppositionist? Topics such as the League of Communists, society, democracy, freedom, thought, and so on, are some kind of "public property" and everyone who feels the need to say, utter and communicate something also has the right to them. There is a basic thing to be

defended here: the right to thought. And the question of who will be right in his thinking, that depends on whether the right to thought has been exercised. I can always be right in my thinking if others do not have the right to think! That is what Dr Fuad Muhic would like to bring about for himself. To go on, on what basis does Muhic place people and their opinions outside the League of Communists, referring to them even as opinions which desire to remove the LCY from the present political system?! The worst that can happen in intellectual life is the emergence of people like Muhic, to each of whom it appears that only they know the truth, what is desired, and what should be done. I say this because of Muhic's "seeing only self" logic: that is, reproaching someone (it is obvious whom) for the dissidents and oppositionists taking command of the "scholarly and journalistic press" and the "round-table discussions of certain centers for Marxism." If certain people are invited to public discussions (gatherings, round-table discussions, symposiums), then they have the right to say what they think. You need not agree with their opinions, but it is intolerable for that reason to proclaim them liberals, oppositionists and radicals, especially in those societies in which name-calling has and can have fateful consequences for those people in sociopolitical life and in their everyday existence. This is not, of course, a matter of only some sort of "rules of the game," but more a question of good manners and tolerance, the ability to respect someone else.

Muhic's intention was to read us the moral riot act. Nothing is easier than to deliver lectures of that kind. But he needs no evidence of being qualified for something of that kind to do it. I do not take seriously people who cannot say what they advocated at one time in their youth. Such people operate today as moralists with a label. They are not in agreement with themselves, they do not accept even their own "I." Belonging to a party does not signify at the same time leaving one's head outside the door upon entering. The creative content of belonging to someone or to something lies in accepting the principle of the "contest of opinions," especially in a party like the League of Communists, which has adopted that principle as one of the principles that make it what it is. In any case, to repress people's thinking into the subconscious, and to leave the difficulties of reality to Muhic's "thought" pattern, signifies nothing more or less than risking a possible state of dictatorship by lies, insincerity, and human activity that is superficial, but disciplined. Muhic's comparison of party membership with something like belonging to an athletic club is the best indication of how seriously interested in ethics he is in general and how he threatens the entire problem with banality. I think that the morality of belonging to a party should be evaluated in view of people's activity in the party, their critical and creative attitude toward the cause and the practice of the party. Otherwise, it is likely that the party would continue to have members, but it is a question whether the members would have a party.

The Attributed Sentence

The feature article entitled "Progressiveness Must Be Constantly Proved" (POLITIKA, 11 June 1983), signed Lj. Z., carried an interpretation of a part of what I had to say in a scholarly discussion (on the topic "The League of Communists of Yugoslavia--Party of Power or Vanguard") which was not a valid

interpretation. Those arguments and ideas were not properly conveyed, but were liberally paraphrased out of context, and that essentially changed their meaning. A sentence was attributed to me there which I did not utter: "The people are sufficiently committed to socialism and socialist self-management, so that the LC is not even necessary, since all have become a vanguard." I actually said that "people have never been more in favor of socialism and socialist self-management in our country than today. They have become a 'vanguard' and that constitutes a fulfillment of the vanguard goals of our League of Communists." That, of course, does not mean that the LC is "unnecessary." I did not mention at all whether it was "necessary" or "unnecessary." Incidentally, the view that the LC is unnecessary is not taken in a single one of my theoretical writings. On the contrary, all of my theoretical efforts have been aimed at conceptualizing the need for the party organization under present conditions. (See my denial in POLITIKA, 19 June 1983.)

What is Dr Fuad Muhic up to? With the greatest possible speed he manages to write and publish an article in DANAS (21 June 1983) containing the "discovery" of my "caviling nihilism." And not only that, but he even goes further in his own treatment of how the "level of commitment of our people to socialism has already become 100 percent"!? There is no need, I think, to even prove how far Muhic has exceeded someone like Richelieu, since the latter was so correct in his conduct that he did not attribute to opponents what they had not at least written. In any case, there are enough reasons for being suspicious of Muhic, who substitutes distortion for certain facts and then plays politics with the results.

As for those vanguard goals such as, for example, how people are to be brought to believe in socialism and socialist self-management, I would like to say that today the progressiveness of the LC has already been accepted by most people. From that standpoint our situation is no longer one in which socialism (self-management) is some minority cause. That is also a new and important attribute. That is, it is one situation when a party is operating under conditions in which it and the working class are in the minority, when socialism is still the commitment of a minority, and an altogether different situation when it has been brought about that most men, women and young people are in favor of socialism, when this has become the majority commitment. I think that the League of Communists has made an essential contribution to this, since it is not the task of a party to develop itself, but rather for its ideas for socialism to become the ideas of society, to contribute to a growing desire for socialism on the part of the broadest masses, and to develop that society as socialism. Incidentally, that is indeed the goal of the League of Communists. But when that is done, then the need arises for the LC to achieve new content of its progressiveness. After all, it is not the same thing to be the vanguard in the fifties and in the nineties of this century, nor can it be done in the same way. So, how is the role of the vanguard to be performed under the conditions of a considerably augmented subjective "favoring of socialism," how are the best solutions to be arrived at? This does not mean that the organizational form of the party is unnecessary. But it needs to accomplish further breakthroughs of higher quality in the course of social development. I only do not know whether Dr Muhic will assert that most of our people, or, to use his expression, 100 percent of our people, are against socialism.

Background

So, here we have Muhic's new start at the repressive stylization of opinions in which he makes false substitutions. Yet he does not do so without difficulties. More and more each time. Obsessed with what can prevent resistance to him on an equal footing, he has thought up new content and new protagonists of the "radical-dissident" and "oppositionist-liberal" danger. With the step of a featherweight, but also of the Pretorian, he has already managed with his "elevated" scribbling "work" of Guardian to make known to readers that it is a question here of "innovations whose ultimate purport is difficult to see." By "pissing about" in the newspapers, of course, in his time-tested way. I have the impression that no one in this country can think anything with a "social angle" without bumping into the always watchful figure of Dr Muhic. Of course, if that person's head threatens to break because of the "close encounter" Muhic doesn't give a you know what. A lot he cares for thought. He will never understand, nor could he, that people can think and write without there being any sort of background behind that activity for him to tirelessly discover as radicalism, liberalism, oppositionism and dissent. I believe that in this respect Muhic would be happiest if books were published and newspapers printed in our country with pages that were all clean and blank. I propose Dr Muhic for the position of editor of that output. I hope that in that case he would stop sniffing about into the secrets of someone else's ideological penis. Incidentally, those people are wrong who have already written about how Dr Muhic projects his own bad conscience in the form of acts and deeds on those whom he so tirelessly transforms into ideological ghosts. Discuss everything without seriously studying anything. And that with ready-made charges and verdicts pronounced! Which is accompanied by "foul play," unprecedented assaults on the body of an alleged opponent, in line with his conception of the party as an athletic club, which he demonstrates, like a soccer back assigned to be hatchet man, in virtually all the pages of our press. On the basis, of course, of a propagandistic superficiality which suits his taste and carried out with sterile and shallow formulas picked up here and there that are supposed to solve everything. If there were no one who had anything to say, Fuad Muhic would have nothing to say. For that matter, just look at his writing. All outright enemies!

In conclusion I "thank" Dr Muhic for the highly esteemed puberty potential and I take the liberty to recommend something to him. That is, it would be good if he turned to more serious writing: for example, how to put the real and ever more numerous young boys and girls to work, how they are to get a roof over their head in which they can live decently with the feeling that this is also the work of the socialist society to which they belong, and is not making enemies. After all they, those real boys and girls, are not knocking. They are already banging. I think that such a piece of writing would be Muhic's first serious contribution to theory.

A word to the wise!

7045

CSO: 2800/417

MARKOVIC'S REPLY TO MUHIC'S CHARGES OF RADICALISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 83 pp 42-45

[Article by Dr Luka Markovic in reply to Dr Fuad Muhic's article entitled "Some New Kids and the Third Revolution": "The LCY and the Crisis"]

[Text] In his article entitled "Some New Kinds and the Third Revolution" Dr Fuad Muhic interprets newspaper interpretations of certain statements by Dr Slobodan Inic and my article entitled "Theses Concerning Development" (published in the journal NASE TEME, Zagreb, No 12, 1982). Along with all the rest Comrade Muhic discovered that I am concerned with the question of "how to remove it (the LCY) from the present political system or at least transform (it) so that it would least resemble the historic 'image' it has today." No one can do that to the party except it itself and especially its leadership, and I propose that we speak about that in quite concrete terms. Take the fact, for example, that today workers' councils are in session from Triglav to Djevdjelija, delegates are waging self-management battles in the assemblies of SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] and sociopolitical communities, there is public discussion and a direct referendum on every optional local contribution, while at the same time we not only do not debate and do not vote on additional borrowing abroad, but in view of the way the world banking system operates, only a very small group of people in our country were informed about those negotiations. In that sense the party leadership, perhaps even against its will, has unfortunately "removed" its own party "from the political system," and in this concrete case has actually suspended our political system itself.

Were this a single incident that was over and done with, one might perhaps offer in justification that the situation was exceptional and this might be accepted after the fact, but, as the Indian saying goes, you can ride a tiger, you just don't dare get off. It takes someone very naive or someone pretending to be naive (and I think that all of us today are one or the other) to believe that over the next 10 years \$20 some billion of debt and Lord knows how many times that much as well in various future "reschedulings" (drawn up according to the usurious format of world bankers) can be squeezed out of the producer segment of our population (our working class) and at the same time it will be possible to feed our domestic "centers of alienated power" (our bourgeoisie) as well without their being many more such suspensions of our political system. Comrade Muhic, I see this as the principal danger that the LCY

will be removed from the political scene, that is, that the "historic image" it has had up to now will be transformed.

On Terror

As for the terror which Muhic says he senses in Inic and myself in "appeals for terror exercised by some real force," let us again be concrete and state frankly what has been made public and that everyone can see if he wants to: that quite a bit more class terror will be necessary by altogether "real forces" (the world and domestic bourgeoisie) before our debt policy which has been adopted is realized. For a time the real wages of the working class can be driven down to that end by economic terror (as has now been the case in our country for the fourth year running), and the working class yet remains silent, but when that is continued for a few more years, then the economic terror exercised over our working class must also be joined by every other type of terror, kinds which we need not enumerate.

Compared to that terror (which has already been presented in our situation and needs only to be fully manifested in coming years) Slobodan Inic and I are mosquitoes, even if we were to dream of some kind of terror (and I will attempt to at least indicate that a revolution is the only way of avoiding a multitude of terrors in this space of ours, and the absence of a revolution would place the LCY on the side of that terror, which would truly transform its "historic image" fundamentally and irrecoverably).

When it comes to independence, Comrade Mitja Ribicic does not express himself "figuratively" as I do, so that he did not utter any sort of "metaphor ... about a new 1941 and 1948 which we might be confronted with" (as Comrade Muhic referred to him, putting his statement in the conditional), but rather he used the official political jargon and literally said in the present tense: "Our country finds itself in a broad-scale class struggle ... we can compare that struggle to our national liberation war and our struggle against Stalinism for the right to our own road to socialism" (see DANAS, 13 November 1982). If our present moment is indeed comparable to 1941 and 1948 (as Comrade Mitja Ribicic unambiguously said), then presumably the solution to our present situation must also be comparable to the revolutionary situations at those times. As far as I know, all we have at this moment as a party vision "of a way out of the present difficulties" is the document entitled Basic Premises of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. I think that not even the members of the "Kraigher Commission" will say that that document is comparable to the 1941 call for an uprising or the resistance to Stalinism and introduction of self-management in the 1948-1950 period.

(Many such documents have been drafted in our country with a great deal of pomp, but soon only the winds and scrap paper dealers were concerned with them.

Incidentally, one does not need any sort of "confidential sources of information," but only a bit of feeling for the real situation to know that the Federal Executive Council is preparing new "packages" all of which will be neatly wrapped up in the Basic Premises....)

In the world system of capital dependence means exploitation, and the struggle for independence is therefore necessarily a class struggle against an external exploiter and his internal point of support, and that is why that struggle is a matter for a movement of the exploited masses and therefore a cause of great ideas which are sufficiently great and sufficiently clear to set the masses in motion, but not a matter for specialists, closed meetings, and the hermetic language understood by few.

Independence is not something which has really been in our genes in the Balkans, and now that Muhic has resorted to "our poignant Balkan ... slang," I will say with our "glorious ancestors" that everyone has done what he wanted (not only the great conquerors, but also our neighbors, who themselves were small potatoes). Throughout its entire history the South Slav backbone has been mainly bent over [original reads "historical: povijena/povijesna] (and stories about the "freedom-loving traditions of our nationalities and ethnic minorities" are mainly just stories), and Tito and his Partizans "voluntaristically" and "in ignorance" performed the first miracle in which that backbone straightened up on a large scale.

What We Have Learned

We ought not to behave as though we have learned absolutely nothing about independence during the four decades of life with Tito. In our first large-scale encounter with independence and in our first revolution the CPY in 1941, by calling for a national liberation struggle, placed itself in the leadership of the working class and peasantry against the financial capital of the axis powers and the domestic early-capitalist Quisling bourgeoisie. In the framework of the altered world system of capital and on the ground of the altered balance of class powers in our own country, in our second revolution by resisting Stalinism and introducing self-management in 1948-1950 the CPY placed itself at the head of our working class against state capitalism in the East and the domestic bureaucracy and bourgeoisie of state capitalism. Both times independence demanded social changes.

Both these struggles for independence were at the same time class struggles, revolutions, and an opening up of perspectives for the masses and a liberation of their initiative on that basis, and that is the only way one can throw off dependence. (Fuad Muhic and I probably could scribble something in the magazines even in South Korea. The communist issue, however pathetic it might sound today, is how Nikoletina Bursac and Haubica express themselves.) In that sense nothing in our history has been truly democratic except the revolution.

What is to be done today to maintain that continuity of the revolution and continuity of independence and continuity of democracy, which altogether represents the continuity of the LCY as I conceive it and desire it? I think that gaining our independence and that kind of "historic image" of the LC once again is not possible today, Comrade Muhic, without putting the question of who in our country has a class interest in the dependence of our country (since there are such people, Fuad, if you yourself have not accepted the trumped-up thesis of the "vanguard position of all" and also the "patriotism

of all") and who in our country has a class interest today in the independence of our country? And who is ultimately the demos today in our country?

The vocabulary of Marx's theory is still the most suitable for class analysis. However, within that language and that analysis one inevitably speaks about the bourgeoisie under socialism, that is, one inevitably does what is not permitted from Vladivostok to Havana, and what Fuad Muhic would like to expel from my otherwise "layer-by-layer analysis" as being "Markovic's murderous observation."

Incidentally, that is the vocabulary that our working class will begin to speak in a few years, and I attempted in my article to begin to think of what questions and against whom our working class would be putting when it comes to the point of awareness (during the continuation and deepening of the world crisis and our own crisis). I am a communist and I would not like the LCY to be the target of that resentment. On the contrary, I want the LCY to be at the head of that dissatisfaction and to make it revolutionary. I truly think that the way out of our crisis can only be revolutionary, and I have referred to that renewed merger of our working class and the LCY as our "third revolution," and I attempted in the article entitled "Theses on Development" to reflect on who might be the class fighters and who the class opponents of that revolution.

The Technocracy

It follows from today's world crisis of state capitalism (that is, the crisis of the bureaucracy) that the bureaucracy is no longer able to be the class hegemon anywhere (the leading faction of the bourgeois), and therefore not the principal vehicle of independence of any country either (soon this will probably cease to be possible even in Albania). In coming decades the bureaucracy everywhere will be subordinated to the technocracy, and the only question is whether it will be subordinated to its own domestic technocracy or a foreign technocracy, and that will in turn depend on which of them is stronger and pays more (which of them leaves it more surplus value). The difference between the advanced and underdeveloped countries will in coming decades be reduced to the difference between the countries in which the technocracy is in the lead and those in which the bureaucracy appears to be in the lead (but actually they are governed through the domestic bureaucracy by the foreign technocracy of global centers of the accumulation of capital).

However, can the technocracy (as the new general leader of the bourgeoisie in the world) be the vehicle of the struggle for independence in our case? I think that our technocracy has positioned itself irrecoverably as a subordinate offshoot of the foreign technocracies. I have presented the case for this at greater lengths in the article entitled "Theses on Development," and because of the limited space I will only say here that our technocracy bases its social power in our country largely on the use of foreign licenses and along with the bureaucracy is responsible for our debt abroad.

In other words, if the party does not find in itself the strength to create goals over and above the world of the technocracy (as in the 1948-1950 period

it advanced goals which were over and above the world of the bureaucracy) and in the struggle rally the social forces of those goals, in coming decades the working class in Yugoslavia will be "led" by the technocracy, indeed the foreign technocracy: workers' councils will actually turn into technocratic managing boards of the Yugoslav OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] of multinational companies, and the party will truly lose its "historic image," it will be the party of a peripheral technocracy (as in 1948 it was threatened with the danger of becoming the party of a provincial bureaucracy, a Stalinist affiliate of the CPSU).

Aside from the bureaucracy and technocracy, one should also assume in the camp of our bourgeoisie the petty bourgeoisie or petty entrepreneurs, that is, the class protagonists of so-called "small business" insofar as it should actually develop. I think it is justifiable to encourage "small business" and to open up prospects for that segment of the bourgeoisie, but that social stratum, everyone will acknowledge, truly cannot be the class protagonist of the struggle for independence. That part of the bourgeoisie will probably be in the political orbit of the technocracy, and partly (because of uncertainty in the crisis which is hurting small-scale enterprise especially) it will pay political allegiance to the working class with leftwing populism (but it is also possible that it might lean to the bureaucracy with rightwing populism, of which nationalism is an example in our case, which would also draw to itself the more backward segments of the working class).

The 21st Century

But when it comes to the working class, the prospect for its present members is that over a sizable portion of their working life they will be paying interest on constantly rescheduled debts, and the working class, insofar as its class consciousness awakens (that is, insofar as it wrenches itself out of the political-ideological orbits of the bureaucracy and technocracy) will certainly point the finger at foreign capital as its main exploiter and at the domestic bourgeoisie as the supporter of that economic dependence.

The children of that working class, if they do not manage to get education, will take over the paying of interest from their parents, and if they do get education (which will be more and more difficult for them, since the International Monetary Fund does not like that in debtor countries), their prospects are to oversee the making of toothpaste under foreign licenses and in the numerous loan [?] transactions they will actually be reduced to the position of highly qualified overseers of our working class on behalf of foreign capital. Those educated young people will certainly want to engage in genetic engineering in their own country, microelectronics, optical fibers, robots, and so on, and so on, and insofar as that elementary and therefore indestructible desire is given political expression, that will be a struggle for independence.

In short, without a struggle for independence, there is no LCY, and there is no struggle for independence unless the working class and educated young people are set in motion. Anyone who does not like my names--the "third revolution" and "certain new young girls and boys" and "the scientocracy"--just let him invent whatever names suit him, but that merger of the working class and

the educated young people in the struggle for our independence will have to occur under whatever name it might be given, and the question of the LCY's survival or preservation of its "historic image" is the question of whether that class coalition in the struggle for independence occurs haphazardly and against the LCY (as in that case the party of the bureaucracy and technocracy, that is, bourgeoisie) or will the LCY today, that is, in advance, with a new LCY Program provide the platform of that kind of class coalition for independence and the revolution, raising the issues of the 21st century.

It is decisive that the LCY set itself up in advance as the organizer of that necessary movement of the working class and young people. That is, no one is guaranteed that that movement, especially in its first assault, will be communist (stated, Fuad, in my "picturesque" language, Solidarnosc follows upon the "PURP-ization" [PURP = Polish United Labor Party] of the party, and I would not like us to be faced with such a mistaken alternative, since Big Brother is taking care of it). It is important, then, that this movement which is certain to come be prepared as a revolution in the continuity of the LCY, as the "third revolution."

When revolution comes up, it truly suits conservatives of all stripes to conserve everything by raising a shout about "violence." However, if we abandon our notions of "taking the Winter Palace" and similar revolutionary folklore from the underdeveloped countries in the first half of the 20th century, revolution today and in our own country need not signify violence at all, but rather the only reliable way of avoiding it.

The Goals

We are in an area where it is difficult to present a "scientific" line of argument (aside from that, I do not know why those who are against revolution never expect a line of argument from themselves). But let us assume that we are in an area of intuition and let us confront convictions on that basis. So, I am convinced that an LCY with revolutionary inspiration could in our country today take up positions of power without coercion from those who are evidently and most flagrantly responsible for the present situation (and for which no one has so far offered "scientific" arguments that might lead us out of that situation) simply because it would constructively, vigorously and unflinchingly set goals out of the range of such people, which such people are altogether unable to achieve or to sabotage.

Without any sort of decree (by widely differing individual paths, either by their own decision or the decisions of their self-management communities) such people would gradually move to other jobs or retire [(?) prakove] (to read newspapers and feed the pigeons) if the LCY sets goals too high for them, such goals as can be realized only by militant and educated and honest and also primarily young people. No one will probably assert (much less attempt to argue "scientifically") that we do not have such people. Whoever does see them, and sees them in great numbers, will probably also see that they are rent asunder by the present situation in the LCY, isolated, and that in the absence of great goals they exhaust themselves in petty and sterile battles within their own workplaces (and usually those are battles with the lower or lowest echelons of our present situation).

It is simply true that much of this is compressed in the greatness of our goals today. That is, for a majority of our people there is no longer any question about the necessity of our facing years in which we will have to give up much of what we have become accustomed to. That is clear to everyone, and the only question for a serious man in our country is whether that sacrifice has any point or not, whether that sacrifice is to the benefit of the world bourgeoisie and its domestic servants, or is that sacrifice for some better and higher goals of our own? All such people are a potential for the personnel renewal of the LCY, especially young people of this kind--in the final analysis the questions concerning our future are their questions.

What are those questions? First of all, it ought to be clear to everyone that within the world system of capital all societies at the transition to the 21st century will be essentially divided into creators and receivers of science, so that the development of science (until scientific communication reaches the world level of power) has that importance for us today which industrialization had for the first generation of our revolution (of course, it is not possible at one and the same time to repay debts and achieve that kind of "scientification" out of the surplus labor of our working class). Assuming that science experiences that kind of development in our country (and assuming the development of education appropriate to it), all of our people will be "prima donnas," and that means that self-management, instead of being a supposed "violence of utopia" and a question of the norm, will become people's "nature" and actuality, and the questions of the "emancipation of labor" will be removed to altogether new areas. At the same time this means that the questions of scientific, artistic and political freedoms will be posed essentially all over again (even on the soil of capital, that is, relative to 1789) and in altogether new ways. The present inequality of women is unthinkable at that social level, which means that on the road toward that social level that question must be put, and that as an issue with revolutionary potential.

If with these several indications I have at least justified putting the question of altogether new goals of the revolution today, then I have achieved my purpose and I will admit without the least embarrassment that I do not precisely know as yet what all the new great goals will have to be for a new revolutionary rallying in our country today in the struggle for independence on a new and higher social foundation. I think that not a single individual would be able to say that, and even if he could, it would not be worth a great deal. Altogether new goals can be set only by the social forces of those goals in the political process (in which there would naturally be the revolutionary imaginations of many individuals), but it would be easier for them if the generation of Tito's communists made it possible for this to be done within the LCY and to preserve the LCY for them up to that point.

That is why in my article entitled "Theses on Development" I spoke about drafting a new LCY Program not only as of a process of analyzing the new class relations in the world and in Yugoslavia, and not only as of a process of establishing goals (both of which might be done even in a small circle of specialists, and once again this would not mean much), but I primarily spoke about drafting the new LCY Program as of a political process in the personnel renewal of the LCY on the direction of the new phase of the revolution, our third revolution in the world system of capital.

In that respect we do not lack examples even in our own revolutionary past. Our struggle against Stalinism was not waged with Stalinism, but with a positive program of great goals over and above Stalinism: as a struggle for self-management it was at the same time a broad political process for rallying the personnel of self-management, people who were willing and able without Stalin over their head and a policeman alongside them to live within the working class, to talk to it in workers' councils, and together with it to achieve our successful postwar development.

So unless that kind of political process of the personnel renewal of the LCY takes place today in the drafting of a new LCY Program and the implementation of that program, the LCY is to remain the party of the present situation, the party of the bureaucracy and technocracy, the party of dependence, and then the very logic of that kind of semicolonial situation will more and more transform the LCY into a party of violence over our own working class on behalf of foreign capital. So, Comrade Muhic, leave off "leftwing radicalism." That kind of altogether possible violence of the LCY over its own working class is the only violence that objectively can occur in our country in the name of communism, although that violence would, of course, not be communist.

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CSO: 2800/417

DANAS EDITORIAL BOARD SUPPORTS MUHIC

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 83 p 43

[Editorial by DANAS editors concerning the exchange between Dr Fuad Muhic on the one hand and Luka Markovic and Slobodan Inic on the other: "The Polemics About Radicalism"]

[Text] In recently publishing the article by Dr Fuad Muhic entitled "Some New Kids and the Third Revolution" (where the radicalism of Luka Markovic and Slobodan Inic leads) in DANAS, No 70, 21 June 1983, the editors of the weekly were motivated by their public duty of the fullest possible commitment on the ideological front, especially in opposing attempts to dispute the revolutionary character of the LCY today from the positions of leftwing and rightwing radicalism and its place and role in our society. The article by Dr Fuad Muhic, one of our regular contributors, which was unsolicited, but accepted by the editors, in its basic assessments and views of the theses of Slobodan Inic and Luka Markovic corresponded in this case to the assessments and views of the editors and was on the line of its editorial policy, which has been verified by society.

The editors want to emphasize that this is not the case with the articles by Dr Slobodan Inic (DANAS, No 73, 12 July 1983, entitled "The Right to an Opinion--About Muhic's Most Recent Discoveries of Radicalism in Our Country") and Dr Luka Markovic (DANAS, No 74, 19 July 1983, entitled "The LCY and the Crisis"), which we published as a response to Dr Fuad Muhic, motivated not only by legal considerations (the right to respond), but also by other motives more important to this debate, among which the right to thought is not in the last place. The editors of the weekly DANAS, however, find in the polemical contributions of Slobodan Inic and Luka Markovic neither facts nor arguments which refute the main assessments and cast doubt upon the basic views formulated in his article by Dr Fuad Muhic, as the readers can be persuaded by taking a look at Nos 70 and 73 of DANAS.

The theses of Dr Slobodan Inic concerning the LCY, explicated repeatedly and on several occasions (indeed in the weekly DANAS a few months ago), subsequently interpreted, modified and backed up with argument, are perhaps only his own committed opinion, but an opinion which has evoked sharp and critical reactions in the political community precisely because, with respect to the LCY, it irresistibly calls to mind the Djilasism which at one time called into

question the vanguard role of the CPY in the development of a socialist society, its ideology, its program and its organization. The opinion of Inic's thought, even though it has the pretensions of scientific theory, of, that is, a research effort, could not but contain criticism of its real and possible consequences in practical politics, and that is precisely what Dr Fuad Muhic has done in the pages of our paper. The editors express surprise, however, that Dr Slobodan Inic--abandoning the field of intellectual and political-ideological discussion in parts of his article--attempted to discredit Dr Fuad Muhic as a person in what is certainly a mistaken conviction that in that way he will make the latter's analysis less convincing and detract from the soundness of his conclusions.

The editors of the weekly DANAS cannot agree with many assessments and outlooks of Dr Luka Markovic which explains in these neighboring columns, in an article entitled "The LCY and the Crisis." Particularly not with his assertions that the "party leadership, though perhaps against its will, has unfortunately 'removed from the political system' its own party, and in that specific case has actually suspended our very political system itself," since this simply is not confirmed by the facts nor by the entire course of concluding agreements and the discussions--within the political system--which preceded the decisions concerning the rescheduling of the foreign debts and the new loans. In Markovic's theses, which have long been familiar, to the effect that the "domestic bourgeoisie," as the supporter of international capital, has climbed on the back of our working class to ride it like a horse, that "if the LCY remains the party of the status quo, the party of the bureaucracy and technocracy, the party of dependence," "the very logic of that semicolonial situation will more and more transform the LCY into a party of violence over our own working class on behalf of foreign capital," as well as his scenario for the future, contain messages which are in a way political-ideological, but also serve the purpose of agitation (especially directed against the leadership of the LCY) which are not--looking objectively--far from the messages sent to us through its propaganda machine by a self-styled center of supposedly pure Marxist-Leninist thought, nor indeed from the messages launched not so long ago by small groups of our dogmatists and neo-Stalinists in an attempt to create an organization parallel to the League of Communists. We do not mean by this to say that Professor Luka Markovic, who by his radicalism has aroused the lively interest of young people, people looking for fresh ideas, is finding his inspiration in an ideology he himself has declared himself to be against. The point is that his radicalism--as he himself presents it--objectively leans in that direction, and therefore his radical thought cannot, in our opinion, pass without a necessarily radical response, which is what among other things Dr Fuad Muhic has given him.

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CARDINAL KUHARIC'S SPEECH TO MARIJA BISTRICA PILGRIMS

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 83 p 3

[Report on speech by Cardinal Kuharic at Marija Bistrica on 10 July]

[Text] On Monday, 10 July, the 252d Zagreb pilgrimage to Marija Bistrica was held. This year, too, many from Zagreb made the pilgrimage on foot. With a group of pilgrims walking from Cucerje was the archbishop of Zagreb, Franjo Cardinal Kuharic. He led the main celebration at the shrine of the Bistrica Mother of God. In his sermon, he stressed that with this pilgrimage, we will reach the 300th anniversary of the discovery of the testimonial icon. The final celebration of the 300th anniversary will be the 1984 National Eucharistic Congress. The cardinal also stressed how this year's jubilee Redemption contains the deep significance of Mary. The appearance of Mary preceded that of Jesus Christ in history. And our devotion to Mary leads us to Jesus to Redeemer. The cardinal then continued:

Therefore, we, dear pilgrims, are here at the Croatian shrine of Mary as children, as sons and daughters to hear the message of our heavenly Mother.

The Holy Father, Pope Paul VI, said to the pilgrims on Assumption Day in 1968: "We are seeking, from Mary, dear sons, her greatest gift--faith! It is a gift which today is more valuable the less it is nourished and appreciated. It is a gift by which we in truth become similar to Mary...a gift by which the Word of God, which was embodied in her lap, lives in us. It is a gift which will take us from the dusk of temporal life to the dawn of eternal day."

We beg for that gift even today in this Holy Year of the Redemption, because that gift is vitally important for the life of every person. That gift is irredeemably valuable for the life of every family. That gift is the light and the condition of the spiritual life of every nation, including our Croatian nation. Faith!

The faith, by which we understand this work, because we believe in God, is the light of life. We indeed live under specific circumstances really because of our faith. In our circumstance, as well as in many countries of the contempor-

any world, faith has truly been placed in question. Faith has been condemned; it has been labeled backward and called superstition; it has been considered an error. Therefore, some people who hold power in their hands consider it their obligation to free man of this superstition and error. People who are responsible for the public life of states and nations consider it their business to guarantee the human freedom to be "free" of these old, worn out "errors."

But, if there exists a program of struggle against faith, against religion, against "superstition and error," then we ask ourselves and completely calmly pose the question publicly: Has this matter indeed been completely thought out? Is the fact of our faith been calmly approached and have its reasons, which are in and of itself and speak to human reason, the human heart and the human conscience, been considered? Does one dare by such simple claims deny to faith its truth, its charity and its blessings for the life of man, the family and the nation?

Within the context of such claims it somehow has not been explained to us that the faithful are equal. Nor is the claim believable to us when it is said that atheism, as a principle of life, a determiner of the human conscience, is a private matter. Even faith, including our Christian Catholic faith, as a principle of life, is also a private matter. It is not clear to us how, then, the equality of these two principles was created if those who are responsible for public life have a program of struggle, and use the means which are at the disposal of the public authorities against, as they say, this superstition, against this error. The claims about equality and freedom along with the program of struggle against religion and the labeling of faith as an error are not clear to us. Practice verifies that, nevertheless, full equality does not exist here and that atheism is not only the private conviction of our brother atheists, but has priority in the schools, on the television, radio and in all our public means of communication.

We acknowledge that we have a certain, but also very relative, freedom. We acknowledge that we have now, after many years of silence, the possibility of communicating with the public through our religious press. We acknowledge that our bishops are named with full freedom by the Holy Father, who chooses and names the bishops to our church. We acknowledge that we have certain possibilities of life in lay associations and in the internal church administration, and that our churches are indeed open. But, nevertheless, we must rue that there are categories of professions, categories of service, categories of responsibility in public life to which there is no access for the faithful because they are faithful, only because they profess to follow a principle in the world obtained from God. And that is a fact.

We would wish that this equality indeed be realized truly equally, that each person be respected, even the faithful in his faith, and that there be the possibility, according to one's own capabilities, in the respect of one's own conscience and the expertise of one's own knowledge, to have access to every service. We would also wish at the same time the declaration of the faithful who no longer have to hide.

It is, therefore, surprising to us especially when meetings with the youth are looked on with suspicion. I have received news from one part of our homeland

that those catechists who are having success in attracting the young to the faith are under specific supervision. How does this conform to the equality of principles, if both one and the other are private principles and a private matter?

The church is not a conspirator. The church is a public association, it acts publically and what it preaches is known. Therefore, not one believer has to be ashamed that he is a believer nor hide because he is one. And we must educate our brother atheists, who consider it their duty to struggle against religious conviction as an error, with more bravery, with greater conscience in our real life.

What will the young learn from the church at its congresses and pilgrimages? The greatest command: "Love the Lord, your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your power, with all your mind...." (Luke 10:27)

God is not a story, God is not a concocted idea; God is not the oppressor of man, he is man's Redeemer. Man is not only matter; man is not limited to only a few years of temporal existence; his problem is not only the pocketbook and apartment. No! He must build his life, personal, family and public, on truth. The truth interests us. We know Jesus said in front of Pontius Pilat: "I was born and came into the world to witness for the truth. Whoever is of the truth, listen to my voice." (John 18:37)

We respect every man, even him who does not believe. That is the secret of his conscience, the secret of his soul in his relation to God. But, we demand with full clarity, dignity and calm, that every believer, regardless of his service or position, be he in the army, the militia, jail, school or whatever, has the right to publicly declare himself a believer. He must have the right to the means to interpret, explain and perfect his faith. He must have the right to receive in any situation his religious press. He must have the right to participate in the sacraments and eucharist of his church.

That is our demand for every citizen believer of this country and of this, our homeland.

Therefore, we do not wish to be constantly under some question mark. We do not wish that some label constantly divide us; we declare that that is against peace; that is against life; that is against the dignity of the human being and the inalienable human rights.

But, brothers and sisters, what are we to answer? What are we to do? We must turn and witness to life that our faith is not an error, that our faith is not superstition. Our faith is light and we are for it the light of the truth of our life. The truth of life according to faith cannot be realized differently than in performing the word of God, in obeying God's commands. But that is not bondage, it is freedom. The man of pure conscience is free, the man of God is free. He cannot suffer for original sin, because he does not do it, but he can suffer only because of the good he can do. The Holy Word says: "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." (Matthew 5:10)

But, we must live the truth!

We must appeal to ourselves, and that is all. The danger exists that the believer will say: I believe in God because I do not believe in the accident of the existence of either the world, my soul or my conscience, but he stops with these words. In the realm of his own actual personal and family life, unfortunately, many of the faithful live as if there was no God. Therefore, even the people allied to God, who by baptism are included in the fatherhood of the Redemption to live in all the beauty of the Redemption can be apostates. The Holy Word warns us that some must not be apostates.

Today, much is said about peace, and correctly. Peace is discussed and that is a duty. Peace is feared for, and that is an anxiety present in people of goodwill. Where will we find peace? Not in error, not in lies, not in force. No, neither totalitarianism nor democracy will give peace. That peace which frees man in himself and makes him as God, only the Redeemer gives. That peace which comforts the family to be indivisible, faithful, full of love and goodness, and not to kill life but to bear life, that peace only the Redeemer gives the family by the power of his spirit, by the power of his redemption. The peace which every nation under the sun desires, the peace which means justice, freedom, trust, social rights--that peace can appear only through the redemption of people, through a purification of the heart. Peace between nations will not be realized by words, but by conversion, by the conversion of people to the truth, to God.

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SUITABLE PENALTIES FOR OUTBURSTS IN LOWER SCHOOLS ARGUED

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[Article by Mirko Mlakar]

[Text] Three middle school and two elementary school students in a village near Kosovska Vitina "ruined the formal atmosphere of the 1 May celebration" by crying out nationalist slogans. Those of legal age were sentenced to 60 days in jail and all the students were expelled from school. In Gajcki "a group of students of various nationalities physically settled accounts." The principal said that in an emergency teachers' meeting a decision was reached "which will surely surprise many people; not to punish any student participants, not to expel anyone, regardless of whether we are dealing with very bad students." This mild act surely disgusted Slavoljub Scekic of OMLADINSKI POKRET. "Recently, three youths (or rather, school boys), students of the Mirko Vesovic middle school center for directed education in Titograd, sang Chetnik songs during the long recess. Choruses of "Chetniks, Get Ready, Get Ready," "Partisans Are Black Devils" and other similar yappings from our enemy's arsenal echoed in the school yard (and could also be heard out on the street). The employees of the Mirko Vesovic middle school center decided to punish the culprits as an example and the three minors were censured by the teachers' council--the last step before expulsion. For such outrages as these, even criminal prosecution is expected for minors, and this will probably happen in this case." Scekic was curt: "So it should be," he said.

In another section he writes that the security service uncovered the "Black Butterfly" group. Their "behavior also belies Chetnik manners" and their greeting was "Heil Hitler." "Surely, these 'butterflies' (and they are as black as the devil) will receive the deserved punishment." "And so they should," again our colleague from OMLADINSKI POKRET is decisive. Finally, he writes that it is a "real shame that our law does not provide even more drastic punishments for this type of criminal act and the group of 'hooligans' from Ivangrad got by with only 30 days in jail. Perhaps a double death penalty would have satisfied Scekic?

Yes, there are and should be places in jail for enemies. But, ending up in prisons is the result of what? Does the long-range solution lie in (severe) punishments? Is preventing the taking of exams and enrolling in any school on the territory of the FSRY indeed a real way out?

Kosovo, the events in some student dormitories, the so-called "punk nationalism"...--all of this is a black stain on the avant garde's banner. "Cases" would occur on a negligible scale if the party and youth organizations lived up to their name. And always when and where the party and youth organizations fail--the police take over. Its role is to protect the constitutional order and it cannot develop revolutionary practice, that is self-management, fraternity and unity. The police and courts can struggle against the manifestations of nationalism, but only politically organized persons can occupy the area for the more equal and united life of the peoples and nationalities in socialist Yugoslavia. This is to say that the "making" of fraternity and unity is the only real way to protect revolutionary values.

Since the LCY in general weakly creates the conditions for the "materialization" of a more equal and united life, and since young LC members chronically forget the need for the induction and "spreading" of consciousness, it is normal that youth will make up the privates and corporals of nationalism (of course, the colonels and generals are somewhere else, outside the reach of punishment!). Then, committees for ONO [Nationwide Defense] and DSZ [Social Self-protection] supplant the ideological-political (lack of) work of the young communists and the (ir)responsibility for each young person winds up in criminal proceedings! Usually, after "outrages" of a nationalist odor, the political sheriffs hold meetings full of invective against nationalist dangers. Demands are heard for "maximum vigilance and caution" (because "the enemy is not to be pacified"). The halls and offices are filled with "sharp and decisive". The halls and offices are filled with "sharp and decisive" condemnations, and all reject the "black sheep" (so that centers which have given many national heroes and hold "solidly to the course" are not stained). They cry, "Comrade Tito, we swear to you" and the man, boasting of his activism, feels the splendor and exaltedness of the act of defending the revolution which runs uncompromisingly into the bright future. The rejection of the "strays" is the logical end of a struggle, which this is not. The natural end of this nondiscovery encourages the weak, arouses the lethargic and holds the wavering.

Some of us have "forgotten" the struggle for every young person! It is interesting to me how often the young avant garde has had comradely discussions with some "adherent of nationalism" and explained to him some matters (clearly, if they are lucid even for a LC member). Many youths (or rather, "school boys") went out on boycott because no one prevented them from becoming the cannon-fodder of foreign ideologies. The alienating practice of the youth organization has turned them into enemies. Their youth organization did not help them out of the gulash of half truths and rumors. They remained alone confronting questions which did not have to place anyone in conflict with ideas they did not understand. Alone, they could not find the real value and since identification with the truth was not extended to them, they identified with black deceptions. When they returned from prison, many did not want to be going. Did jail therapy instill in them the knowledge of fraternity and unity as the crowning values of life?

Consciousness of fraternity and unity is not suckled with mother's milk and "honest patriots" are not born, but taught by political practice. As long as the LCY remains a polygon of slogan politics and is not the site of everyday

action, as long as young communists are not shock groups capable of nondeclaratory contact and mobilizing the youth by personal example--school classes will inexorably become the legions of evil and material for punitive reformatories.

The socialist youth movement is a lie if the masses are not brought into the struggle for socialism. With the power of argument, political acumen, patience and persistence, there will be none who "stray from the path." Nor will there be a youth nonmovement which with a mathematical inexorability devours its membership and drives them into jail.

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